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THE PARTITION OF AFRICA.

THE so-called "scramble for Africa" is interesting from many points of view; but just now the struggle appeals with peculiar force to every thoughtful mind for two leading reasons—namely, because, in the first place, it is implicated with that wide movement on the part of the states of the temperate regions to control the equatorial parts of the earth; and, secondly, because it represents a renewal of the ancient strife between England and France, which, after many years of extinction, has, with startling unexpectedness flared up in the remotest corner of the Dark Continent. Let us, therefore, consider in their order these two phases of the subject.

The extent to which the peoples of the civilized world are dependent upon tropical productions is not always kept in mind. Some idea of this dependence may be gained, however, by calling to mind a catalogue of the most familiar luxuries and necessities of life. Tea, coffee, sugar, tobacco, choice woods, dyes, ivory, gutta-percha, and similar economic goods, are for the most part drawn from that vast storehouse nature has constructed where the sun shines so intensely and life is so easy. That the commercial nations of the temperate zones, moreover, have ever coveted those gifts which with such lavish profusion have been showered upon the jungles of the torrid belts is a fact indelibly stamped upon the pages of history; and the time-honored trade between the East and the West has always borne on its sails

1. THE CONTROL OF THE TROPICS. By Benjamin Kidd. New York: Macmillan. 1898.

2. AFRICA: ITS PARTITION AND ITS FUTURE. By Henry M. Stanley and Others. Introduction by Professor H. T. Peck. Map. New York: Dodd, Mead & Co. 1898.

3. EGYPT IN 1898. By G. W. Steevens. New York: Dodd, Mead & Co. 1898.

the ameliorating and uplifting influences of a civilization that now girdles the earth itself. Bringing into close contact races and nationalities of the most divergent types, such commercial relations have necessarily affected the political and religious institutions not only of those into whose reluctant hands has been thus thrust the torch of learning but of those also who have carried to new lands the germs of civilization. Is it necessary in this connection to do more than remind an American reader of the painful events in his own country's history this melancholy truth recalls? For was it not the augmenting demand for tropical products, and the old conviction that their cultivation by the white man was a sheer impossibility that fastened African slavery upon the United States, and cast upon the fairest section of this country the shadow that still darkens it? Examine the reports of the foreign trade of any advancing country, and what do they teach us? That the volume of trade with equatorial lands is annually increasing by leaps and bounds? Unquestionably so. In other words, with the evolution of social life, articles of comfort and enjoyment are fast ceasing to be the exclusive privilege of the wealthy, and are steadily falling to the lot of the wage-earner. Hence, if the standard of living is to continue to rise, we must count upon constant increase in consumption of those products which are only to be found in the warmer regions of the earth. But this question arises: How may the supply of such products best be enlarged so as to meet the increased demand for them? Before the advent of modern democracy it was possible to maintain a system of slavery, either in the crude form in which it appeared in the United States and the West Indies, or the milder "culture system" the Dutch introduced with some measure of success into Java; but we may rest assured that anything even approaching those types of compulsory labor will never again be tolerated by any nation that has attained to a sufficient point of development to appreciate the meaning of those principles pithily embodied in the words "liberty," "fraternity," and "equality." At the same time experience

has repeatedly demonstrated the inability of the white man to resist the deadly attacks of the tropical sun. India and Central Africa alike prove this. Still the native himself has just as often shown that his unaided efforts cannot be relied upon. What, then, is to be done? There is light on this subject. It comes from England, which, of all countries, is best able to shed that light. The man, moreover, who strikes the match is Mr. Benjamin Kidd, author of the work entitled "*Social Evolution*," which met with such phenomenal success when first published a few years ago. Mr. Kidd shows very clearly, we think, that economic forces compel us to recognize that the tropics must be governed by the white man, and the cultivation of their products guided by the same hand, which is to hold those regions in trust for civilization. Wherever England, for example, has assumed control over an equatorial region its trade has picked up immensely, and the whole world has gained thereby. Hence it is urged that, in view of the foregoing facts, together with the keen rivalry fostered by modern social and industrial conditions, it will be impossible for civilized peoples impassively to stand aloof from the tropics; and few well-informed readers of Mr. Kidd's suggestive little volume will be disposed to question his opinion that the diplomatic struggles of the dawning century will be fought over the commerce of the tropics.

Mr. Kidd's book helps us to understand much that would otherwise prove meaningless in the cupidity now displayed by more than one European power in Africa. But as the nascent contest appears chiefly to be between England and France, it may be just as well to consider the subject largely with reference to those two countries, devoting some remarks, of course, to the African colonies of the rivals of those two powers. To mention, however, the names of two such countries as England and France in the same breath with the name of Africa seems incongruous, if not, indeed, ridiculous; for England and France have very justly been called the "eyes of Europe," just as in times past Sparta and Athens were called the "eyes of Greece."

England and France stand for progress, for freedom, for civilization—in a word, for all that is best and noblest in government, science, and art on the other side of the Atlantic. But Africa? What does Africa represent? Excluding Algiers and Egypt, Africa, before the white man's advent on the southern coast, was a continent known to the outside world as the abode of wild animals and unlovely savages—a part of the globe so utterly different from the rest of it, so entirely removed from all those influences one ordinarily associates with ideas of enlightenment, that it is not inappropriately called the Dark Continent. But the great work of civilizing this neglected region has already begun, and nothing can retard seriously the onward movement. Fortunately, too, this work has been commenced under the guiding influences of the two most liberal and cultivated nations of Europe. Accordingly the annexation of this hitherto uninviting and unpromising region to the Western world, and “the initiation of its millions of debased and wretched inhabitants into higher conditions of existence,” has been justly described by an eminent continental publicist as one of the most momentous events of our age. When one recalls the fact, moreover, that from the days of the Pharaohs down to those of Mr. Cecil Rhodes Africa has been the great slave market of the world, which, thanks to the introduction of European ideas and gunboats, has at last received its death-blow; when one pauses long enough in the hurry and bustle of modern life to reflect on the fact that day is at last breaking on Africa's long and shameful night—one is almost startled on being brought face to face with a movement destined to reclaim at last a region for which nature has done so much and man so little. More extraordinary still, and as if they were alive to the sublime importance of the trust committed to them, England, France, Germany, Portugal, Italy, and Spain—the six European powers who have united in this partition of Africa—have so far fulfilled their mission quietly and peaceably. And despite the fact that millions of square miles of territory, and hundreds of millions of inhabitants have been added to the possessions of European

countries, land hungry and ambitious, the players have not fought over the game. On the contrary, freedom of trade and the great principles of arbitration have triumphed throughout the entire history of this great partition. Contrasting these orderly events, on the other hand, with those accompanying the struggle for supremacy in America, one finds every reason for encouragement. Nor is it too much to conclude that the past few centuries have witnessed the evolution of a higher standard of international morality. The work in Africa begins indeed most auspiciously; and although for obvious reasons the names of England and France have been mentioned with especial emphasis in connection with Africa's regeneration, it would be a mistake to fancy, in view of the foregoing paragraphs, that they are the only European states engaged in the splendid work now going forward with such rapidity in that far-off part of the world. It was, therefore, a happy thought on the part of the publishers of "Africa: Its Partition and Its Future" to reprint in enduring form a series of highly valuable contributions to the columns of the *Independent* on a subject of absorbing interest just now to the reading public. The value of this book is enhanced, moreover, both by the able introduction of Professor Peck, of Columbia University, and by a map which embodies the results of the latest geographical explorations of the continent. Each article is written by a specialist, while additional interest in the book is created by the fact that the several contributions reflect the national sentiments of their respective authors. Mr. Stanley, the famous explorer, writes of "Africa in the Twentieth Century;" Herr Bley, late District Governor in German East Africa, presents the German view; and French claims are advanced with outspoken earnestness by M. Guieyse. Other interesting chapters are those written respectively by Lieut. Lemaire on "The Independent Kongo State;" "England, the Sudan, and France," by Mr. Henry Norman, the well-known London journalist; "The British Empire in Africa," by Mr. Stead, editor of the *Review of Reviews*; and "The Future of Nigeria," by Sir George Taubman-

Goldie, the clear-headed executive of the Royal Niger Company.

Probably the largest meed of praise for the present exploitation of Africa should be accorded to Belgium. Indeed, Belgium's share in this work is so important that it is impossible to understand the sudden desire on the part of European governments to acquire African territory, unless one first gets a clear idea of King Leopold's activities in this direction. In addition to being the most densely populated country in Europe, Belgium is also one of the most advanced, from an industrial point of view. United with Holland by the Congress of Vienna, it remained for fifteen years a part of the kingdom of the Netherlands; but the French revolution of 1830—the so-called “July Revolution”—stirred the long-smoldering embers of popular discontent to such an extent that in an outburst of national feeling the union was dissolved. That it was doomed from the outset might have been foreseen. Could anything have been more preposterous than the yoking together of two such countries as Protestant, commercial Holland and Roman Catholic, manufacturing Belgium? But to the union Holland had brought, among other things, vast colonial possessions which afforded markets for Belgium's excessive output of industrial products. Deprived, therefore, of colonial markets, Belgium saw her well-being still further menaced by the growing disposition of other countries to raise the tariff on foreign importations. King Leopold II., therefore, soon after his accession to the throne, began to look for colonial possessions for the growing trade and population of his country; and, as pointed out in *The Forum* a few years ago by the late Belgian economist, Professor de Laveleye, it was the king of the Belgians who in 1876 founded the International African Association. Shortly after its organization, however, Mr. Stanley reached the Atlantic coast and electrified an astonished world by his account of the voyage down the Kongo. It is unnecessary to narrate here the unwavering support Mr. Stanley subsequently received from his royal patron, for the world knows it by heart. Suffice it to say that King

Leopold was instrumental in organizing a great trading corporation which, under the direction of Mr. Stanley, still further explored the Kongo and its tributaries, and eventually laid the foundations of the Kongo Free State. Events such as these, following so closely upon the heels of that general industrial awakening caused by improved machinery and the completion of the Suez canal, aroused the interest of all Europe; and it was not long before the leading powers began to raise their flags over various portions of Africa. Even Germany, theretofore averse to colonial expansion, laid claims to vast stretches of territory on both coasts of the continent; while England, France, Spain, Italy, and Portugal came in for their shares. Thanks to Prince Bismarck, however, then the chief justice of Europe, the Berlin Conference, which met under his presidency in 1884, settled the whole matter on the most amicable and liberal terms. This parliament of nations and the one that convened a few years subsequently at Brussels resulted in the quiet partition of most of the Dark Continent, and at the same time committed the Powers to several cheering plans, including that for the suppression of the slave trade. Another important work of the Berlin Conference was the creation of the Kongo Free State, under the personal direction of King Leopold, which was shortly afterwards recognized by the United States and several other countries.

As far back as 1806 England snatched from the Dutch the Cape of Good Hope, which she has ever since held as a strategic position necessary for the safety of India. But the sturdy Dutch boers, or farmers, so delightfully described by Mr. Haggard and others, were far from being pleased with their British masters. Some of them, indeed, emigrated years ago to the interior, and founded there the Orange Free State, while a subsequent Boer secession led to the erection of that republic in the Natal which, after a checkered career, gained its final independence from Mr. Gladstone in 1885. Curiously enough, however, none of the writers of the book before us devote much space to this interesting portion of African history. And yet Mynheer Paul Kruger,

more familiarly known as Oom Paul (Uncle Paul), who is now filling for a fourth time the office of President of the plucky little republic of the Transvaal, is one of the strongest characters in African politics. His quick work three years ago in connection with Dr. Jameson's raid upon Johannesburg will be recalled by every one; and whether instigated by the uitlanders (foreigners) or by Jew and English speculators, the performance was equally miserable and reprehensible. The space at our command will not permit us to dwell at length on these aspects of the subject, but it may not be out of place to lay stress on the fact that the Kongo Free State and the two little Dutch republics are at once a sign and a promise of what may be done by the white man in the wilderness of Africa and in the midst of countless millions of savage blacks. Even more encouraging are the progressive strides now being made by the English, whose presence in South Africa has already been mentioned.

As the trading company was the engine that eventually conquered both India and America for Great Britain, it is noteworthy that the same omnipotent institution is in full blast everywhere in Africa. In South, East, West, and Central Africa there are great commercial associations, endowed with sovereign attributes and guided, as a rule, by men of unusual administrative ability. The Royal South African Company, for example, is such a corporation; and when under the control of Mr. Cecil Rhodes, that most audacious of adventurers, it succeeded in making British influence paramount throughout the entire southern section of the continent. It is, therefore, not altogether remarkable to find in the book on Africa now before us that a British writer takes a highly optimistic view of Mr. Rhodes, and speaks of that personage in the following bombastic vein: "South Africa is chiefly famous as the pedestal of Cecil Rhodes, the most conspicuous and commanding personality [*sic*] which the British have produced in our generation." Where are the English authors who have hurled stones at American filibusters? Evidence of the strongest kind implicated Mr.

Rhodes in the premeditated and wanton attack upon the friendly little republic of President Kruger. And, instead of being a "commanding personality," Mr. Rhodes is apt to strike the average American as one of those who, in the plain Yankee patois of one of our great writers, "Stick an Anglo-Saxon mask onto State prison feeturs."

However, it is not our purpose to berate either Mr. Rhodes, who is at least a man of adroitness, or his panegyrist, who probably expresses the views of the majority of Englishmen. To return, therefore, to our mutton, or rather to the pan-African wool gathering, Great Britain now owns in South Africa the flourishing Cape of Good Hope colony, Basutoland, Bechuanaland, and the vast region along the Zambesi River locally designated as Rhodesia. North of the Zambesi is the British Central African Protectorate, embracing Uganda, "the pearl of Africa," and other territory watered by Lake Nyassa and Albert and Victoria Nyanzas, or lakes. In East Africa one encounters the powerful British East African Company, which was chartered some ten years ago with a capital of about \$10,000,000. It was to this association that the Sultan of Zanzibar in 1891 granted all his territory from the Umbe to the Juba for an annual payment of \$80,000. The total area owned by this country is 1,000,000 square miles, including 400 miles of the coast of East Africa, over all of which England has declared what is called a "protectorate." On the west coast are the four British colonies known as Lagos, the Gold Coast, Gambia, and Sierra Leone, the scene of last year's disturbances. To convey some idea of the commercial potentialities of these possessions it may be mentioned *en passant* that Lagos, an island on the slave coast, has a native population of 3,000,000. Nor has the catalogue of British possessions in Africa been exhausted; for no mention has been made of some other territory, including Matabeleland, Mauritius, the Natal, and Nigeria.

German explorers like Peters, Knapf, Mauch, Schweinfurth, and others first directed the attention of their countrymen to the undeveloped resources of Africa; but it was not

until about fourteen years ago that the German Empire started upon that career of colonial expansion that has subsequently evoked so much diplomatic discussion. Herr Bley estimates the size of German Africa as twice that of the fatherland, including in his computation German East Africa, Southwest Africa, Togoland, and Kamerouns. Thus to Germany have fallen Lake Tanganyika and parts of Lakes Nyassa and Victoria, with much of the adjacent territory, to say nothing of the source of the river Pangani, which rises in the ice-covered summits of Kilimanjaro Mountain. German Southwest Africa Herr Bley considers of little value on account of the rinderpest, a cattle plague which sweeps off entire flocks annually; and although applied science, in his opinion, may eradicate the evil, he fails to exhibit any enthusiasm in respect of the future growth of this quarter of the Kaiser's plantations. Of the East and North, however, he writes most hopefully, and he sees every reason for being proud of the crops of coffee, oil, and nuts that will some day go steaming in the direction of Hamburg. But Herr Bley neglects to mention Germany's lack of harbor facilities on either coast of Africa. Meanwhile, German emigrants betray no symptoms of enthusiasm in respect of the fatherland's distant possessions, and the few who have taken up their abode in them are for the most part either missionaries or the agents of Hamburg firms. We do not, of course, wish to be understood as intimating either that Germany's experiment is a failure, or that it will never succeed, for with further experience there is no reason why the German's administrative genius, joined to his patience and intelligence, may not be able to construct a colonial system which will more than realize the emperor's fond dreams of a greater Germany beyond the seas. But is Germany ready for it? In striking contrast with Germany's African possessions are those of Italy and Spain, which may be dismissed in a few words. Encouraged by England, who probably had her own diplomatic aims in view, Italy embarked upon a perilous enterprise when she vainly attempted to withdraw popular attention from distressing financial ills

by plunging into a foreign policy for which she was ill prepared. Unfurling her standard on the East African coast, Italy endeavored to stretch her sphere of influence at the expense of Abyssinia, but the Emperor Menelek pitilessly slaughtered the advancing columns of Italian soldiery a few years ago, since which time neither the Crispi nor the Rudini government has felt encouraged to repeat so disastrous an experiment. Spain's efforts in the same direction have also met with discouragement, as have indeed all recent colonial enterprises of that singularly unhappy country. Of Portugal, on the other hand, long a claimant to African lands, much more might be said were it not for the fact that her extensive possessions on both coasts of Africa have for several years past been surely passing into other and stronger hands.

M. Guieyse emphasizes the well-known fact that France was one of the earliest European nations to become interested in the settlement of the western coast of Africa as well as one of the first to send an army of invasion to its northern and eastern sections. A century ago, for example, Napoleon made his grand march to the Nile, while in 1830 the government of Charles X. subjugated Algeria, that ancient nest of pirates, and laid the foundations of French Africa. Meantime French explorers and engineers, including de Brazza and others, were almost as active as English missionaries and travelers like Livingstone, Speke, Burton, Baker, Stanley, and their successors. French Africa to-day embraces territory both north and south of the Great Desert (which French engineering skill proposes either to flood or to pierce with railways) and includes Algeria, Tunis, and Mojotte, together with extensive regions on the banks of the Kongo and the Niger. The latter territory stretches far into the interior in the direction of Lake Tchad and the so-called fullah empire of Sokoto. France also owns the magnificent island of Madagascar, over which she declared a protectorate in 1890. The estimated area of French Africa is 3,000,000 square miles as against Great Britain's 2,190,000 square miles and Germa-

ny's 884,000; but in the territory of France is included the Great Desert, whose soil has been wittily described by an Englishman as "light." Allowing, therefore, to Italy 549,000 square miles; Portugal, 825,000; the Kongo Free State, 905,000; and the Boer republics, 178,000—we are confronted with the significant fact that of Africa's 11,500,000 square miles, all save about 500,000 have either been allotted to European powers, or accorded to the free or semi-independent states, such as those already indicated, or states like Egypt, Abyssinia, Liberia, Morocco, and the Sudan.

By far the most important feature connected with Africa's partition is the English occupation of Egypt, regarding which so much has been said of late, especially in connection with the Fashoda incident. Indeed, Capt. Marchand's extraordinary conduct and the brilliant military exploits of Gen. Kitchener have served to stimulate interest in this phase of the African situation and to force to a head the growing irritation between England and France. All the world, of course, knows why Great Britain is in Egypt, as well as the history of recent events on the Nile. The opening of the Suez Canal, completed with the aid of French capital in 1869, is often cited as one of the greatest economic facts of recent times. Politically it gave England a vital interest in Egypt, because it held the key of the shortest route to India. Accordingly, in 1875, Disraeli, the astute English diplomatist, knew how to secure from the Khedive a great influence for Great Britain in the management of the affairs of the canal by buying a large number of the Suez Company's shares. Meanwhile the Egyptian government had borrowed enormous sums of money from various Europeans—notably Englishmen and Frenchmen—to say nothing of the fact that many Europeans had settled in the country and were protected from native ignorance and rapacity by mixed courts and capitulations, charters from Turkey and Egypt which accorded Western foreigners a large measure of self-government. Such circumstances naturally gave European countries considerable interest in Egypt and the Nile; and the English and French governments, acting in concert, extend-

ed Tewfik, the Viceroy of Turkey, a sort of guarantee provided he should behave himself by following their advice. A rebellion having broken out in the meantime, France declined to unite with England in the task of restoring order. With characteristic energy and independence, Great Britain accordingly proceeded on her own account, and while her gunboats thundered in front of Alexandria, English troops under Gen. Wolseley marched from one end of the country to the other. As is well known, these events of 1884 resulted in the virtual establishment of an English protectorate over the Khedive's dominions, which was rendered more permanent by the sudden appearance of the Mahdi, a religious fanatic who, with thousands of Dervish followers, swept like a mighty conflagration through the Sudan or lower basin of the Nile. How "Chinese" Gordon, one of the most extraordinary characters of recent history, led his faithful band through a hostile country and finally reached Khartum; how he vainly waited there for the help his government ought to have sent him; and how, after having been thus shamefully left to his fate, he fell a victim to the murderous onslaughts of the Dervishes—these painful facts are too well known to require detailed narration. Suffice it to say that, ever since these events, Egypt, with her six million inhabitants, has remained under the protection of Great Britain. It should be added, moreover, that the affairs of the country have been steadily improving under English rule, which has brought to the Egyptians law, peace, and order, together with a spirit of free enterprise unknown to the many centuries that lie back of this wonderful country's present. And with an honest and more efficient local government, there is apparently no reason why this most ancient of lands should not also become one of the most fruitful. The importance of Gen. Kitchener's successful campaign, therefore, lies in the fact that England, who really looks from the south northward, will be in position to unite the Cape with Port Said, and thus civilize the whole eastern portion of the continent.

Meantime the French, who are marching from the north,

claim that such portions of the Sudan as were abandoned by the Egyptians on the outbreak of the Mahdist rebellion became open to occupation; and accordingly it was Capt. Marchand's effort to enforce this claim at Fashoda that caused the recent misunderstanding, now happily settled, between England and France. That disputes over African titles should occur, however, might have been expected; for the same controversies took place in America, and for identically the same reasons. But, as some one has remarked, the work of partitioning the New World was not completed until about fifty years ago, when the Oregon Treaty divided the great Northwest between England and the United States. From that time—if not, indeed, by the still earlier promulgation of the Monroe Doctrine—every part of America has been regarded as incorporated in the territory of a civilized country, and accordingly not open to colonization in the technical sense. Hence no European power can obtain fresh territory on this side of the Atlantic; and in view of the Venezuelan controversy of the winter of 1895-96, it is significant that Professor Lawrence, one of the latest English authorities on this subject, tacitly accepts the idea of the Monroe Doctrine, then so forcibly set forth by Mr. Cleveland. That these experiences in America, therefore, are being repeated in Africa should not cause surprise; nor is it any the less surprising to find statesmen and publicists turning to the history of the New World to settle doubtful points of international law which are involved in the disputes arising in Africa. But in addition to the doctrine of protectorates, discovery, and occupancy already alluded to, is that embodied in the term *hinterland*, a German word now incorporated so firmly into our own language that it may call for a few remarks. What then is the doctrine of *hinterland* one hears so much of in connection with Africa's partition? By *hinterland* one simply means back country; and its doctrine, according to Professor Westlake, the distinguished English publicist, is "the claim of a civilized country on the coast of an uncivilized country to as much of the back country, or interior, as may form a

reasonable appendage to it." As the same author well says in his instructive article on this subject, the only thing novel about this doctrine is the attempt to restrict it within reasonable bounds in Africa and elsewhere; for does not every student of American history know perfectly well that the very same doctrine was involved when several of the original English colonies—notably the Carolinas and Virginia—claimed that their *hinterland* stretched to the South Seas or the Pacific?

Mr. Steevens's volume, written in the familiar language of a diary, comes most opportunely; and, being designed to give a graphic picture of contemporary Egypt, the book will be read with more than ordinary interest by all who wish information on this important phase of the African question. Mr. Steevens tells us many things. The topsy-turvy Egyptian constitution is described at considerable length, as also are the Caisse de la Dette, the Coptic Church, Port Said, Cairo, Alexandria, and the *status* of the Khedive, the nominal executive under Turkey. But Lord Cromer is justly regarded as the restorer of Egypt and its real ruler. Next to him in point of influence and power our author puts Sir John Scott, the accomplished engineer who has so successfully completed the barrage system initiated by the French for the purpose of improving the water supply of the Nile. In a rainless country like Egypt water is everything. The fact that the English have given this prime necessity to all classes without fear or favor is therefore regarded by Mr. Steevens as sufficient justification for the British occupation of the country. He also makes apparent the importance of the English control of the Nile from its source in Victoria Nyanza to its mouth. Of course there is an English party as well as a French party in Egypt; but while the natives cannot be said to love the former, they would be loth to have them relax their hold upon the country. The advantages accruing from English supremacy—advantages not only of a material and administrative nature, but those felt in the moral and intellectual life of the people—are appreciated. Mr. Steevens is accordingly inclined to the opinion that the English

will remain where they are. To quote his own language: "I do not think that we shall ever leave. This is awkward, because we promised to—gave a perfectly sincere promise which we have not been able to fulfill. I do not think we shall ever be able to fulfill it without wasting an enormous deal of splendid work, which we should not do. Some day, perhaps, we shall square the situation, either by agreement or after a war. In the meantime the world is full of Tunis-es, Kiao-Chau, and Port Arthurs. We need not distress ourselves. The whole world knows, in its heart, that we are staying in Egypt; and the whole world, in its sleeves, is very well satisfied."

In concluding these remarks upon the partition of Africa it may not be inappropriate to say a few words respecting two African countries which are bound to excite more than ordinary interest in the near future. We refer, of course, to the Liberian Republic on the western coast and the Empire of Abyssinia on the eastern. The former, representing as it does the results of the philanthropic endeavors of the American Colonization Society, naturally appeals in the tenderest sort of way to the people of the United States. That it is menaced, moreover, by the advance of European powers in its direction is unquestionably true. Hence every well-wisher of those blacks who have bravely left their native land to aid in the tremendous task of regenerating Africa would regret most keenly to see this struggling little negro republic pass into hands ignorant of the character and potentialities of the black man and destitute of any sympathy for him. In these circumstances, therefore, it is not at all unlikely that our relations with Liberia will become more intimate in the not distant future. Meantime who knows the extent to which the work of illuminating Africa may not be intrusted to the black citizens of America? For the rapid industrial development now going forward in the Dark Continent will naturally open up countless opportunities to laborers and settlers of all races; but so far as some of the regions of Africa are concerned, only the black man of the United States or India will be able to profit by the op-

portunities their exploitation will afford. Quite different from any other part of Africa is Abyssinia. Christian in religion, and blessed with a brave and strong population, Menelek's country has demonstrated its ability to take care of itself. Fortified, moreover, by the natural obstacles the topography of the country opposes to the invader, Abyssinia's conquest is highly improbable. On the contrary, the remarkable vitality of the Coptic Church in this land, added to the strong character of the population, may foreshadow a great future for Abyssinia. Meantime the numerous railway and telegraph lines now being built in all parts of Africa, to say nothing of the improved navigation of the Nile, Kongo, Zambesi, Niger, and other rivers and lakes, will further develop the commerce of the continent, and offer fresh incentives to the natives. Tribes like the Bantus and Hausas on the mainland and the Hovas of Madagascar seem capable of great intellectual development, and we may be sure they will continue to respond to the stimulating influences of the white man. The Africans have hitherto suffered from the lack of means of communication and the resulting imperfect development of their country's natural resources; but as these ancient drawbacks yield more and more to the science and art of the white man, there is every reason for believing that a corresponding degree of commercial activity will be witnessed. Meantime, as the civilized states assume a more and more direct control over these tropical regions, let us hope that they may realize the sacred nature of the trust delegated them, and manifest some interest in the natives themselves. That the United States, moreover, will be forced by the irony of events to take part in African politics seems inevitable, in view not only of our present implication with international affairs, but also in view of the thousands of blacks in America who, when increase of population begins to press upon the means of existence, will be obliged to look elsewhere for homes. But especially upon England and France is laid the onerous responsibility of acting along lines of justice and humanity while thus furthering the

cause of civilization among the teeming millions of the African jungles. In the magnificent work, therefore, of enlightening the savage blacks and carrying to them the glad tidings of modern industrial and intellectual life, may France lose none of her freedom nor England suffer one blot to fall upon her matchless record of justice and mercy! Then will the partition of Africa bring with it a twofold blessing; for to the mighty material impulse its annexation to the commercial world will mean, there will be added the speedy triumph of those lofty ideals of universal brotherhood which, in spite of frequent disappointments, will surely reclaim in the end all races of men, and lay broad the foundations of the coming world-state. B. J. RAMAGE.